

CHAPTER 34

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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I. INTRODUCTION

Augustus and his Julio-Claudian successors had moulded the variegated architecture and art of the empire in ways that blended old with new, metropolitan with provincial. Patterns of practice had been created which would serve as a basis upon which future generations could build. Chief arbiters were naturally the ruler, his family and senior ministers, as controllers of policy and finance. Theirs were the fundamental choices about artistic direction. But a host of other factors, constantly varying, were ever present to influence what they might do, such as public opinion, resources, metropolitan and regional tradition, transport, technological skills, medium, receptivity, competence, pride, enthusiasm, or the particular needs of visual propaganda. Metropolitan traditions had arisen at Rome, certainly, but everywhere else there flourished multitudinous local traditions which interacted constantly with these. There was the Italian of north and central Italy, derived from and recalling Roman and Italian sources, whose influence spread far into Dalmatian and Danubian regions. There was the Celtic, in a great band from nearer Spain across France and Germany northwards to Britain, with its rectangular and circular temples often surrounded by a porticoed verandah, and its abstract, curvilinear art. There was the Punic of North Africa, the culture of the Semitic Phoenician settlers, derived from a hotchpotch of eastern and Greek elements, with its liking for cut-stone architecture in local forms of house, temple and tomb, and its unrealistic, 'conceptual' art. There was the unique culture of Egypt, flourishing still after more than three millennia. There were the further oriental cultures of the Near East, with their mixtures of Mesopotamian, Persian, Syrian, Greek and (in Palestine) Jewish elements, and their linear and 'conceptual' arts. There were the complex local traditions of Anatolia, built up over the centuries since Hittite, Assyrian, Persian and Hellenistic days. And most powerful of all was the tradition of the Greeks, widely influential not only in the Greek-speaking regions and Greek colonial areas of Anatolia, the Black Sea, coastal Syria, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Sicily, south and central Italy and southern Gaul, but also beyond, in Syria, Palestine, Punic

North Africa and Spain; this was a tradition which, moreover, would continue to evolve for centuries to come. It was characterized by an architecture with: a liking for cut stone (especially marble); rectangular or, less often, circular and frequently columned structures, normally built in simple post-and-lintel engineering techniques, although with some use of arch and vault; systems of proportion and ornament in the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders; and some elements of planning. It was also characterized by an art of idealized realism expressed through such media as sculpture, painting and mosaic. Greek artefacts, craftsmen and artists had, moreover, penetrated Rome since regal days; from the second century B.C. this trickle had become a continuing and influential flood, contributing together with Italic and Etruscan architecture and art, and the developing central Italian and Roman concrete architecture, to the rich tapestry of the art of the capital. Augustus and his dynasty had set their imprint on this amalgam: an art of idealized realism somewhat in the Greek manner, and a varied architecture. At times, especially under Augustus, this architecture was fairly Greek in accent, but at other times the possibilities of concrete, now normally brick-faced, were vigorously pursued, as under Tiberius and still more under Nero, with his hugely imaginative palatial residence the Golden House, which after the fire of A.D. 64 spread across the heart of Rome, evoking both admiration and resentment.

II. THE FLAVIANS

Vespasian (69–79), founder of the Flavian dynasty, soon showed an astute pragmatism in his handling of architecture and art. Clever early moves distanced him from the hated Nero and civil-war losers and linked him instead with Republican sentiment and the more respectable Julio-Claudian Claudius. He created an image of himself as a mature, practical senator, startlingly realistic in the manner of portraits of the late Republic and of Claudius, and contrasting strikingly with the demure looks and high-piled locks of Flavian dynastic ladies, and completed in Rome the temple of the deified Claudius, the *Claudianum*, largely destroyed by Nero. Soon attended to also were further architectural projects in Rome, designed to win popular favour. The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol, Rome's most solemn state sanctuary, which had been reduced to smoking rubble during the civil war, was rebuilt on appropriately traditional lines and rededicated in A.D. 75 (only to burn again in 80). To celebrate the return of peace and, at the same time, provide welcome additional space in Rome's crowded Forum area, Vespasian erected a Temple of Peace (later incorrectly known as his 'Forum'), a harmonious, rectangular, colonnaded and tree-filled enclosure facing, and aligned with, the neighbouring Forum of Augustus, with a discreet temple flanked by a library and other halls (one

of which later housed a marble plan of Rome erected by Septimius Severus). His most dramatic gesture, however, was to begin the task of sweeping away Nero's Golden House by filling a drained ornamental lake with his Flavian Amphitheatre (completed by Titus and Domitian, and later nicknamed the 'Colosseum') to hold some 50,000 spectators of blood sports: conservative in its elliptical plan, in its use of much stone, including a travertine arched façade decorated with the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders, and in the brick-faced concrete barrel-vaulting of the staircases and corridors that supported the marble and wooden seating around the central arena, it was nevertheless a masterpiece in its size, ingenuity and dignity.

Outside Rome, Vespasian inspired much further building. New military installations arose. In the civilian sphere, Brixia (Brescia) in north Italy gained a remodelled Forum and terraced Capitolium; probably Flavian-period amphitheatres arose at Pozzuoli and Verona in Italy, and at Avenches (in wood) and Arles and Nîmes in France. Administrative buildings received attention: at Conimbriga in Portugal a palace with three courts arose, at Trier in Germany the headquarters of the provincial procurator were enlivened with black and white mosaics, and in Britain a southern coastal palace at Fishbourne entered an enlarged second phase with decoration that included more black and white mosaic and an impressionistic wall-painting of a landscape. In Britain, too, new urban complexes with forum and basilica were erected in London (with a temple) and Verulamium (St Albans, completed under Titus), and Cirencester was created a tribal capital (A.D. 78–9). At Tarragona in Spain the rich refurbishing of a temple of Jupiter, and at Mainz in Germany a Victory monument with relief plaques of defeated Germans, may belong to this period; in north Italy, public and private statuary proliferated, with standardized bases. Further afield, Thessalonica in Greece gained a gate with Dioscuri in relief, and Corinth a building dedicated in A.D. 78. In Asia Minor the tally includes imperial cult shrines at Nicomedia (A.D. 70–1) and Troy, gates at Nicaea (c. A.D. 71) and Xanthos, porticos (stoas) at Cyzicus and in Lydia, a fountain and niche at Side (c. A.D. 71) and baths at Patara. And an important remodelling of Jerash in Jordan (c. A.D. 50–75) was now taking place, involving the street plan, walls, gates and the creation of its unique Ionic colonnaded oval 'Forum'.

The private sphere also saw lively activity. Simple, brick rectangular tombs began to rise outside Rome, while rock-cut tomb façades continued to characterize Rome's neighbours the Nabataean Arabs. Funerary reliefs were widely produced, from Gaul to Syria. Red, glossy 'samian' ware, manufactured in southern Gaul, was exported to Gaul and Spain. Much house-building went on in old and new towns. Houses at Ostia and in Campania,

in particular, were still of the old court (atrium) kind. The Campanian houses, however, were being modernized at Pompeii, Herculaneum and elsewhere after an earthquake of A.D. 62 with increased use of brick and upper storeys. These towns, buried by an eruption of Vesuvius on 24 August A.D. 79, have since been excavated, and have revealed that one aspect in particular of interior decoration, wall-painting, was flourishing, in the final stages of the 'Fourth Pompeian Style'. Whereas floors normally had modest black and white geometric and figured mosaics, walls bore rich polychrome designs (with much use of white, yellow and gold) of imitation architectural features framing views 'through' the wall into architectural and landscape vistas and figured scenes often representing Greek myth and legend, and perhaps reflecting lost earlier masterpieces.

Titus, despite his mere two years as ruler (79–81), still had some impact. His image, seen on the coins he issued in one main style at Rome and in portraiture, is square-headed like that of his father, but younger and friendlier; again, the ladies of the court (on coins) sport towering frontal piles of curls. At Rome he built a triple arch (now gone; the 'Arch of Titus' was most likely raised by Domitian), continued the Colosseum which he dedicated in A.D. 80, began the conventional Temple of the Deified Vespasian, and built the innovatory Baths of Titus. In Britain his governor Agricola finished the forum of Verulamium and created tribal capitals at Exeter and probably Leicester; in Asia Minor a portico (stoa) was dedicated to him at Pessinus and a stadium completed at Laodicea-ad-Lycum, while in Beirut a colonnade was erected by his mistress Berenice. Thus his commissions, like Vespasian's, courted popularity.

Domitian (81–96), Titus' younger brother, revealed a similar approach in much of his work. Despite the claims of Juvenal and Suetonius that he was bald,¹ he appears on coins, issued from Rome, and the few surviving portraits with plastically indicated hair (a wig, or artistic convention?), broad Flavian features, and prominent nose and chin; certain (later?) hair arrangements may evoke precedents among such 'divinized' rulers as Alexander the Great. Flavian females continued to sport their towering wigs. At Rome he finished the Baths of Titus, temple of the Deified Vespasian and Colosseum; after a great fire in A.D. 80 ravaged the Capitol and Campus Martius areas he restored many buildings here, including the (Augustan) Pantheon and temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. New projects included two examples of dynastic promotion (both now gone), a circular family mausoleum on the Esquiline, and a porticoed enclosure, the Porticus Divorum, recalling Vespasian's Temple of Peace and containing temples of the deified Vespasian and Titus. Popularity was sought with a new racetrack

¹ *Juv. Sat.* IV.38; *Suet. Dom.* 18.

(*stadium*) in the Campus Martius (now Piazza Navona), technologically conservative and reminiscent of the Colosseum, and his new Forum Transitorium (dedicated by Nerva), with a temple of his patroness Minerva, which conveniently unified the forum area by linking the Temple of Peace with Augustus' Forum: from its decoration survive a classicizing frieze with goddesses and a colossal cult statue of Mars. More revealing, however, was his most ambitious achievement: an enormous and highly imaginative palace, the Domus August(i)ana, a triumph in brick-faced concrete, built as the poet Martial informs us by Rabirius,² and inaugurated in 92. This replaced sections of Nero's Golden House by covering the whole Palatium hill on the Palatine with a monumental new structure. Approached up ramps from the Forum, it was divided into two parts: the public, with its audience hall, basilica for judgement, shrine (*lararium*), great banqueting hall (*triclinium*) and (later) vast vestibule, and the private, two storeys around a rectangular courtyard with an elaborate fountain, and spacious, stadium-like porticoed garden. Everywhere were ingeniously shaped rooms and surprising vistas. Ornament was lavish, with marble veneer and friezes of Victories and trophies, and stucco. The whole provided a setting worthy of the 'master and god' who now headed the empire, one which was long to remain the imperial residence, and which gave the word 'palace' to western languages.

Historical reliefs were also commissioned at Rome. The relief of an emperor sacrificing before the altars of the Deified Vespasian and Titus (now in the Louvre), and the marble 'Trophies of Marius' (commemorating his German campaigns?) are probably his. So, too, is a pair of damaged but handsome large marble reliefs, found near the Papal Chancellery (Cancellaria) and stylistically reminiscent of Augustus' Altar of Peace (*Ara Pacis*). One (B), referring to A.D. 70, pictures the young Domitian welcoming his father Vespasian at his arrival (*adventus*) in Rome (symbolized by Roma, the Vestal Virgins, and the Spirits of the Senate and People), while the other (A) depicts Domitian (whose head has been recut as Nerva) with soldiers, Mars and Victory probably setting out (*profectio*) on a military campaign (against the Chatti?). Domitian also erected the Arch of (the Deified) Titus, still standing (restored) at the east end of the Forum, possibly late in his reign, as the ornament prefigures that of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum (A.D. 114). Either side of the single passage is a great relief depicting Titus' triumphal procession in Rome after his taking of Jerusalem in A.D. 70: in one, the Jewish spoils, including the seven-branched candlestick (*menorah*), are paraded, while the other shows Titus in his chariot escorted by soldiers and personifications of Honour, Courage and Victory. Most surprising is the style, deeply cut and illusionistic. Above, in the vault, the deification

² Mart. *Epigrams*, vii.56.

(*apotheosis*) of Titus is symbolized in relief: his bust is carried heavenwards by the eagle of Jupiter.

Domitian's mark is also visible outside Rome. He built himself a villa in Italy at Castelgandolfo. In Upper Egypt he appears in reliefs of Egyptian style as an idealized pharaoh. He ordered much military building. But particularly characteristic of his reign seems to have been urban improvement and renewal. The centres of Ostia and Conimbriga (Portugal) were modernized; London gained a second basilica and governor's palace, Wroxeter became a tribal capital, North African Cuicul (Djemila) was founded in 96 or 97, Palmyra (Syria) gained a colonnaded street, Jerash in Jordan was being improved, and in Corinth, after an earthquake in 77, the centre was rebuilt on a grander scale. In Asia Minor, apart from a portico (Limyra), aqueduct (Cilicia), courtyard shrine (Priene) and architectural decoration (Smyrna), the greatest activity was at Ephesus, where a large area was rebuilt with porticoes and possibly baths, and a great Flavian dynastic temple arose, from which survives an ambiguous colossal head, possibly of Domitian.

There was much private activity, also. Rome must now have been benefiting from Nero's sensible building regulations; a mass of commercial and domestic structures arose, identifiable by bricks which, in the efficient Roman manner, often bear stamps indicating date. Marble 'ash chests' with reliefs often housed the remains of the cremated dead. Provincial towns equipped themselves with theatres, baths, temples, streets and the like; Parma in north Italy set up divine figures in basalt. In Germany, military gravestones continue, while in Britain a locally carved stone female head has 'Flavian' curls and wall-painters frequently opt for schemes of red with black intervals. In Spain, black and white mosaics are preferred, while at Zliten (Tripolitania) in North Africa a villa has rich polychrome floors with figured subjects, including one where panels of cut marble alternate with busts of the Seasons personified. At Ephesus Pollio constructed a fountain in 93, enlivened with dead and dying marble warriors, half life-size and imitated from Hellenistic Pergamene originals.

The megalomania that induced Domitian to erect the Flavian temple at Ephesus and palace in Rome led to his assassination in 96 and the condemnation of his memory. His aged, stop-gap successor Nerva (96–8) issued coins bearing a stark image in one style from Rome, and ordered the re-cutting of Domitian's head on 'Cancellaria' frieze slab A as himself, but his other possible portraits are hard to assess; he authorized the first portraits of Trajan. He continued the laying out of Cuicul in North Africa and was honoured on buildings on the Greek island of Tenos and Kremna in Asia Minor. His most important work, however, was the completion of Domitian's Forum and its dedication in his own name. Thus his work was little more than a postscript to that of his predecessor.

III. TRAJAN

Dynamism returned to imperial commissions with the Romano-Spanish Trajan (98–117). The revenues of peace, the spoils of successful warfare, the creation of Dacia (106) and the peaceful annexation of the Nabataean Arab kingdom as the province of Arabia (106) all provided resources and reasons for celebration. Trajan's image as a new Augustus, a strong, mature, pleasant-featured and practical leader, with its almost Republican attention to detail but un-Republican softness of flesh, was periodically adjusted from its beginnings under Nerva throughout his own reign, as coins and sculptures reveal. Although he says in a letter to the younger Pliny that he is reluctant to allow statues of himself to be erected,³ portraits nevertheless survive; some have been associated with a coin issue of 108 celebrating ten years of rule (*decennalia*), others (from the Piraeus and on Samos in Greece) are colossal, and a large bronze medallion from Ankara in Asia Minor may depict him, unusually, in old age. Portraits of his empress Plotina formed a demure counterpart; ladies of fashion, however, could still wear the high, frontal wig.

A burst of building in and around Rome, skilfully targeted to please the public, dimmed memories of Domitian's architectural self-indulgence. An early priority was an imperial warehouse for wine (102). The venerable House of the Vestal Virgins was rebuilt (98–108); Caesar's Forum was restored, and his Temple of Venus Genetrix rebuilt with a fine frieze of nude, cavorting Cupids (113). Beside the Tiber stretched new wharves, berths, ramps and warehouses, in concrete faced not only with the now customary brick but curiously with a revival of the Republican network ('reticulate') pattern of small squared stones; Ostia received a new harbour, wharves for nearly one hundred ships, warehouses, baths and a lighthouse, and an impetus to build high-rise blocks. Profiting from a fire in Nero's Golden House (104), Trajan erected over the ruins on the Esquiline an enormous and splendid new baths (*Thermae*, opened 22 June 109) which, in size and layout, marked a major step forward. The architect, as the historian Dio reveals,⁴ was Apollodorus of Damascus, who thus demonstrated that despite an origin in the Greek-speaking world of cut-stone architecture, he had a complete mastery of Roman methods. Earlier, he had constructed a notable bridge over the Danube. He, too, Dio affirms, was the architect of Trajan's most magnificent architectural achievement, his new forum. Built out of the spoils of the Dacian Wars and dedicated in 113, this was to be the last and greatest extension of the public area at the heart of Rome. The adjacent Quirinal hill was cut back to a height of 38 metres; up its slopes now rose Trajan's Market, a functional but handsome and inge-

³ Pliny, *Ep.* x.9.⁴ Dio LXIX.4.1.

niously planned commercial complex in brick-faced concrete with streets (including the central 'Via Biberatica'), over 150 offices and shops, and a two-storey vaulted market hall, in all a triumph of the most progressive contemporary architecture. Below lay the Forum, more traditionally conceived but unsurpassed in dignity and splendour. Opening towards Augustus' Forum (of which Trajan's was an enlarged version) was a slightly curving entrance wall, within which opened a spacious, rectangular columned court (200 by 120 metres), flanked on either side by a great semicircular recess or 'hemicycle' (*exedra*) and at the centre of which originally stood a fine equestrian statue of Trajan. Across the rear of the court stretched a magnificent apsed Basilica, called Ulpia after Trajan's family name, whose timber roof was supported by a forest of columns. Beyond this opened a second court, which embraced a pair of opposed, concrete, vaulted libraries and culminated in a grand temple of Trajan and Plotina (now under a church). The whole ensemble was polychrome, with numerous columns of grey Egyptian granite, and veneers and architectural and portrait sculpture of white and coloured marbles and probably porphyry. Its most singular feature, however, still stands today: Trajan's Column of white Carrara marble, 38 metres high, with 185 internal steps, set between the libraries and intended originally to provide a platform from which to view the whole, but converted before 113 into a memorial of the Dacian Wars, scenes from which were skilfully carved in low relief as an unbroken narrative spiral from bottom to top, in the common ancient 'vertical perspective' which raises background figures above those in the foreground. On top stood a gilded bronze statue of Trajan, and in the base rested the deified emperor's ashes. It was an extraordinary concept, thrice imitated by later emperors, and a worthy concomitant of Rome's grandest ensemble.

Somewhere in Rome there was erected a further sculptural commemoration of the Dacian Wars, the marble 'Great Trajanic Frieze', a section from which was sawn into four and used to decorate the Arch of Constantine; Trajan appears in an arrival and cavalry-battle scene in higher-relief and reduced 'vertical perspective' but the same continuous narration as the Column. Trajan's achievements were also commemorated elsewhere in various forms. In Dacia itself, at the site of Adamklissi, arose a huge circular monument, with its drum ornamented externally with a series of relief panels in local stone, in which scenes of Roman soldiers in various activities including combat are rendered with surprising naivety, doubtless because the carvers were provincials. Elsewhere, Trajan commissioned or inspired an extraordinary number of arches and archway-gates, a handsome classicizing example at north Italian Ancona (115), one in Dalmatia at Asseria (112), but mostly in Spain, at Alcantara (where a bridge was built in 106), Bará (an old-fashioned one erected by Trajan's general Licinius Sura), Cabanes, Càparra (a four-way, or *quadrifrons*), Martorell (by a bridge),

Medinaceli (three), and Merida, and North Africa, at Thamugadi (Timgad) in Algeria (if not later), Maktar in Tunisia, and Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania (109–10). But the most spectacular arch was that in central Italy at Beneventum, with a single passageway, built to commemorate the opening of a new short route (Via Traiana) to Brundisium and covered with reliefs in the passageway, exterior and attic (where an inscription gives a date equivalent to the second half of 114); Trajan's conquests, achievements and generosity are extolled in crowded panels which are difficult to interpret, but elegantly carved.

In the provinces the architectural and art forms characteristic of the Flavian era continued to flourish. At Antioch-on-the Orontes in Syria production began of a series of fine, figured mosaics which was to last for centuries. Here and there activity by Trajan and the imperial élite may be observed. New cities were founded, laid out on the Roman grid-plan of streets, at Thamugadi (Timgad) in Algeria to settle veteran soldiers (100), at Bostra in Syria to be the capital of Arabia (106), and at Nicopolis-ad-Istrum and Marcianopolis in Bulgaria to hold Dacia (after 106). In Egypt, desert forts and a temple by the porphyry quarry, the Mons Porphyrites, were built; here, too, reliefs in Egyptian style show Trajan at Dendera, Esneh and on the Nile island at Aswan called Philae, where the strange, rectangular, Egyptian fourteen-column 'Kiosk of Trajan' formed the gateway to the temple of Hathor. In Germany the amphitheatre of Trier was rebuilt in stone. In Asia Minor, Miletus was replanned from *c.* 100 and gained baths, an aqueduct and nymphaeum; Smyrna received a little shrine (114), at Aphrodisias the market-place was rebuilt, and at Ephesus the prominent local citizen Tiberius Iulius Celsus began a magnificent library (*c.* 117–20), a high, rectangular, apsed and galleried hall with a rich front façade of pedimented columnar niches. Pergamum was crowned with an imposing Corinthian temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan, the Trajaneum. And at Athens, Pantainos built a columned, rectangular library whose regulations survive (*c.* 100), while on a hill a striking mausoleum arose, the Monument of Philopappos (114–16), Roman consul but also grandson of the late Hellenistic king Antiochus I of Commagene and descendant of Alexander's successor Seleucus I; the concave front largely survives, with niches in the upper register containing statues of Antiochus, Philopappos and also Seleucus (now gone), and a relief below of Philopappos' procession as consul remarkably reminiscent of the procession panel of the Arch of Titus, and thus a further example of the interplay of traditions so characteristic of the empire.

IV. HADRIAN

The age of Hadrian (117–38) proved to be extraordinary, largely because of the extent to which he was able to impress upon it his own many-sided

personality: ruler, philhellene, architect, dilettante, poet, traveller and romantic. Apart from rebellions, duly crushed, in the fringe provinces of Britain and Judaea, the era was one of peace and plenty, with architecture and art in a rich and fruitful stage. And now the Roman world had an emperor of strongly artistic temperament, determined to galvanize into architectural and artistic activity every region of the empire across which he so restlessly wandered.

His transformation of the arts began with his own image, which was revolutionary. For centuries the Roman élite had been clean-shaven. Now Hadrian wore a beard, whether to cover blemishes as his biographer, probably wrongly, alleges,⁵ or to look like a Greek hero or philosopher, or the chief god Zeus or Jupiter; the fashion was to last two centuries. His hair was lengthy. At some point a further innovation was introduced: the eye in stone (especially marble) sculpture, previously left blank for the details to be filled in with paint, now had the iris and pupil plastically indicated with groove and drill-hole. Hadrian's portraits, with two to three hundred known, far outnumber those of any other emperor, and have appeared in every corner of the empire, with large quantities in Athens, in the Olympieion and theatre of Dionysus; the Greek-speaking provinces have yielded numbers of cuirassed statues in marble (one from Perge dated 121) and, in Egypt, in porphyry. At least six main portrait types have been recognized, with other variants including an odd bronze statue in Greek dress from Kadirli (Cilicia) and a still stranger bronze head from the Thames in London, perhaps made in Gaul. The empress Sabina appears in severely classical guise, although with subtle changes. Classicizing, too, although with contemporary flesh polish, are the marble portrait statues and reliefs of Hadrian's deceased favourite the Bithynian youth Antinous, often in Greek heroic nudity (130–8): monuments of sexual loss, they embody a haunting, Hellenic beauty.

Hadrian's Hellenism, seemingly derived particularly from the Neoclassicism of contemporary Athens and the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, but always varying, pervaded architectural ornament and art. It may be seen in buildings of his time in and around Rome. It occurs in imperial reliefs he erected in the capital. Relief is deep and figures monumental. A pair, the 'Anaglypha Traiani', which both have buildings in the Forum as an architectural background, show in one case Hadrian addressing the people before a statue group of Trajan, and in the other the burning of records of debt. Eight roundels, later incorporated in the Arch of Constantine with most heads recut, depict Hadrian out hunting (a passion of his) and sacrificing, with companions who include, as an untouched head reveals, Antinous. Two reliefs from a demolished arch, the Arco di Portogallo, portray Hadrian on a dais making an address, and the emperor

⁵ *HA Hadr.* 26.1.

watching Sabina's deification (*apotheosis*) in 137. Classicism enters the designs and style of his coins, both those from Rome (especially the silver denarii) and some splendid large 'cistophoric' tetradrachms produced in Asia Minor.

But, paradoxically, in architecture Hadrian, who took a practical interest, was a modernist, so much so that he apparently fell out over this with Trajan's ageing favourite, Apollodorus of Damascus, whom he eventually banished and executed.⁶ After completing the Temple of the Deified Trajan in the Roman Forum, Hadrian showed his revolutionary approach by rebuilding Augustus' Pantheon, behind a conventional portico, as an enormous, plain, brick-faced concrete domed drum 43 metres in diameter and height concealing a richly ornamented interior with columnar niches, coffers and a central opening for light (c. 118–28). His Temple of Venus and Rome on the Velia, dedicated in 135, was also unorthodox, but this time in being a temple of essentially Greek design with ornament by carvers from Asia Minor in Rome, with two main halls (*cellas*) set back to back; it was later radically rebuilt by Maxentius (306–12). He constructed an imperial Mausoleum (now Castel S. Angelo) in 134 across from his Pons Aelius bridge; it had the traditional Italian circular form, but rich and especially Anatolian ornament. His most imaginative constructional feats, however, were reserved for a gigantic retreat he was building near Rome for most of his reign, his villa at Tivoli. This, his architectural self-portrait, sets within a rolling, wooded landscape a series of deftly sited buildings that vie with one another in daring, ingenuity and ornamentation. Early on the scene was a circular, moated island villa of almost wholly curvilinear design (118–25); later came the colonnaded ('peristyle') court (125–33) and the 'pumpkin' domes of the Vestibule (Piazza d'Oro) and Serapeum as well as baths, and, after 130, the colonnaded Canopus with statuary reflected in the lake. The rich decoration, although classicizing in taste, mixed orthodoxy with experimentation: mosaic was widely used even for walls and domes, and floor mosaics show a revival of polychrome figured panels with landscape scenes, while sculptures include both copies of famous old masterpieces, such as the Athens Erechtheum Caryatids, and adventurous pieces, like the polished brown marble old and young centaurs, executed in meticulous detail and signed by Aristaeas and Papias from the dynamic Asia Minor school of Aphrodisias.

Everywhere he went in the empire, Hadrian commissioned or inspired work of every kind. In Ostia, high-rise blocks increased. An amphitheatre was remodelled in central Italy at Capua, and theatres at Italica and Merida in Spain, Lyons in France, where an Odeum arose, August in Germany, Stobi in Macedonia and Laodicea in Phrygia, 136–7. Far-flung Britain gained a

⁶ Dio LXIX.4.1; *HA Hadr.* 19.9–13.

fort, forum and huge basilica at London, a forum and basilica at Leicester, and across northern England from the Tyne to the Solway a continuous wall (c. 122–8), a permanent frontier, of which the western half was of turf and the rest of mortared rubble faced with stone. In North Africa, at Cyrene the temple of Apollo was reconstructed in traditional Doric, while at Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania) much use began of Greek and Anatolian marbles, visible in a fine baths of which much survives including a handsome marble latrine. In Egypt, Hadrian continued Trajan's temple at the Mons Porphyrites; a classicizing temple of Serapis arose at Luxor, while at Alexandria Hadrian dedicated an (extant) traditional Apis Bull. Jerusalem arose from the ashes of rebellion as the Colony of Aelia Capitolina (137); at Jerash in Jordan a triumphal arch arose, while in Palmyra (Syria) Hadrian's host Malê Agrippa erected a new cut-stone temple of Baalshamin of eastern Roman design (130–1). Much building in Asia Minor included gates (Attaleia, Claudiopolis, Termessos and Nicaea), sanctuaries (Claros, and Thyateira in Lydia), a triumphal arch (Isaura), a forum and basilica for the Roman colony of Cremna, a temple of Zeus (Aezani), temple and richly ornamented bath buildings at Aphrodisias, a temple at Pergamum of Zeus Soter which was circular in imitation of the Pantheon, a monumental gate and court at Perge built by Plancia Magna (117–121/2) with imperial portraits and statues of local deities, a private streetside temple of Hadrian at Ephesus with arched lintel, and the gigantic Corinthian temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus with a bust of the emperor in the pediment (completed in 139), one of the largest temples of the Roman world. Greece saw the Fountain of Peirene rebuilt at Corinth, and an architectural transformation of Athens, which Hadrian in A.D. 131/2 made the capital of a new League of Greek cities, the Panhellenion, with an aqueduct from Mount Parnes, a gymnasium, a partly extant Library reminiscent of Vespasian's Temple of Peace in Rome (132), a basilica (for League meetings?), the completion of the gigantic Temple of Olympian Zeus after 700 years (131/2, with statues of Hadrian and 'colonies'), and a whole new eastern quarter with houses, baths and gymnasia entered through a delightful, surviving gate (131/2) – in all the greatest imperial provincial benefaction ever, and one which subtly blended Athenian, Hellenistic Greek and Roman elements.

Classicism spread generally through the arts. Wall-painting at Rome comprised a delicate continuation of the 'Fourth Pompeian Style'. Mosaic remained important, both in black and white (as in the Neptune Baths at Ostia) and in polychrome geometric and figured kinds. But most important was the rise to popularity among the élite of an art form with a chequered earlier career, the carved stone (usually now marble) sarcophagus. This had flourished in the Classical Greek world as a rectangular coffin with figured reliefs of hunts and other subjects around all four sides, with a lid in the form of a gabled roof. In Italy, Etruria had developed its own version, with

figured scenes (usually drawn from Greek mythology) on one long (front) side only, or at most on one long and two short sides, as in the tomb it stood against a wall, and so had a blank back; on the lid was carved one or more reclining figures. At Rome, cremation had been the norm since Republican days. But now, whether through changes in personal belief or simply as a further display of wealth, the rich of Rome and the provinces began to commission sarcophagi in increasing numbers. Workshops in Rome prolonged the Etruscan tradition, and others in Athens and western Anatolia the Greek. Garlands, daily life and Greek mythology formed the staple subject-matter; but whatever the apparent subject, it probably carried for the Romans a deeper, allegorical meaning, referring to the struggles of this life on earth and to bliss in paradise. So this formed a further creative use of the classical tradition.

V. THE ANTONINES

Peace and prosperity characterized the era of the benevolent Antoninus Pius (138–61). His own engaging portrait, based on Hadrian's but with longer hair and beard, and known in roughly a hundred examples, hardly alters, although he passed from 51 to 74; similarly alike are the few (some posthumous) of his wife Faustina the Elder, who died in 141. Not so those of his adoptive family: Lucius Verus perhaps, and Marcus Aurelius more surely, had passed through two types by 161, and Marcus' wife Faustina the Younger no fewer than six (out of her eventual nine), so there was clearly concern to get the dynastic images right. This is surely reflected also in an important early monument from Ephesus, the 'Great Antonine Altar' (c. A.D. 138–40?), of which the magnificent marble frieze survives (now in Vienna), depicting an emperor standing, combat between Romans and eastern barbarians, an emperor's departure, goddesses and sacrificers, the deification of an empress, Roma, and an imperial family group with Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus as they were about A.D. 138.⁷ To the early part of his reign, too, belong his commissions at Rome: the completion of Hadrian's temple of Venus and Rome, the construction of a huge Temple of the Deified Hadrian (dedicated c. 145–51) from which some columns and classicizing relief panels of personified provinces remain, and the building of the traditionally conceived and still largely surviving Temple of Antoninus and Faustina overlooking the Forum from 141 in honour of the deceased empress, with a frieze of griffins and candelabra. A fragmentary frieze in Rome depicting a procession may have celebrated twenty years of Pius' rule in 158 (*vicennalia*).

⁷ Altar date as c. A.D. 138–40: Toynbee (1965) 65–6, 251; Vermeule (1968) 95–123; Strong (1986) ch.

8. As c. A.D. 161–9: F. Eichler, *JÖAI* 49, Beiheft II (1971) 102–36; Andreae (1978) 249–50.

An important early commission outside Rome was in the province of Britain, where trouble led Pius, in about 140, to move the frontier forward to the Forth–Clyde line in southern Scotland: a new turf wall was erected, from which survive some unique limestone distance slabs carved with edifying scenes of Romans defeating barbarians. But behind this and other frontier lines peace in general reigned, and Rome and the provinces enjoyed a continuation of the Hadrianic impulse to build and decorate, with a particularly classical inspiration. In Germany, Augst (c. 150) gained a provincial version of Trajan's Forum, and Trier a governor's palace with a green room containing a wall-painting of Jason and Medea; and in Danube lands, Aquincum a governor's palace with mosaics, Nicopolis-ad-Istrum a forum entrance (146–61) and Odessus a new aqueduct (157) and probably baths. In southern Spain, the *capitolium* at Baelo was rebuilt. In North Africa, Tipasa received new city walls, Sufetula (Sbeitla) an arch (140) and forum and *capitolium* with three juxtaposed temples (as at Baelo), Timgad the north gate (149) and southern baths, Cuicul a market and theatre (161), Thugga a temple of Minerva, and Carthage a great baths with interlocking hexagonal hot rooms. In Egypt, at Alexandria a relief of a captive barbarian was perhaps carved now, and at Medamud near Luxor Pius added a court in Egyptian style to a temple. In the East, temples were constructed, improved or rebuilt at Jerash (Artemis and Zeus), Dmeir (149), 'Atil (in the Composite order, 151), Hebran (Ionic, 155), and Palmyra (Bel and Baalshamin), while at Baalbek the Jupiter precinct continued to expand and a great, largely surviving colonnaded and richly ornamented temple of Bacchus arose; at Si' an arch was raised. In Asia Minor, Pius completed the Hadrianeum at Cyzicus; Nysa received a theatre-like council house ('Gerontikon'), Side and Sagalassos temples, Patara a theatre, Miletus a market gate (c. 160), Smyrna a handsome market-place with two-storey porticoes, and Ephesus baths built by Pius' friend Publius Vedio Antoninus. In Greece, Thessalonica gained a building, Crete an amphitheatre, Eleusis two arches like Hadrian's Athenian gate dedicated to Demeter and Pius as well as a medallion bust, possibly of Pius (but more likely Marcus Aurelius) in a gateway, and Athens a market office ('Agoranomion') and an arched reservoir on Mount Lycabettus; but activity in Greece was dominated by the millionaire patron Herodes Atticus, who restored the Stadium in Athens for the games of 143–4, contributed a fountain to the market-place (Agora) in Athens, rebuilt the Peirene fountain at Corinth, and in 149–53 constructed in the sanctuary of Olympia a splendid monumental fountain (Nymphaeum), with two tiers of niches each with a Zeus at the centre and eleven portrait statues, of Herodes' family above and the imperial below, in close association.

The arts continued generally to flourish. Sculpture, including portraiture and the handsome marble sarcophagi, maintained a high artistic level; it is

interesting to observe the arrival of the Hadrianic beard and the sarcophagus as a genre at Syrian Palmyra about 150, a generation after their start. Also, wall-painting maintained a high level, represented at Rome by landscapes, at Verulamium in Britain by marbling and candelabra, and in Egypt by a wall-painting of the god Heron on horseback in a temple at Theadelphia, and the continuing series of attractive mummy portraits. Fine, representational mosaics spread to the western provinces (including a striking scallop shell at Verulamium) and North Africa. This may also have been the period of the construction of a temple of Roman type at Bath in Britain for the local deity of the hot springs, Sul(is) Minerva, the pediment of which bore a singular relief in Romano-Celtic style of Victories holding a central medallion with an extraordinary, bearded Medusa-like frontal head.

Marcus Aurelius' joint reign with Lucius Verus (161–9), his sole rule (169–80) and British (160s), eastern (163–5) and northern (from 167) campaigns provided much to reorganize and commemorate. As coins and sculptures demonstrate, the rulers' hair and beard grow still longer; their faces are smooth and confident. Marcus' image is fairly consistent, in perhaps two main variants; Lucius' has a final (fourth?) phase as emperor. From c. 175 appears the first, beardless, type of Marcus' son Commodus. Marcus' empress Faustina the Younger and his daughter Lucilla both apparently pass through three types. Unusual surviving portraits are small gold busts of Marcus from Avenches (France) and Lucius from Marengo (near Mantua, Italy), and a great bronze equestrian statue of Marcus (176/7?) still standing in Rome, exuding dominance. Apart from portraits, an important early commission in Rome (c. 161) was a red granite column to honour Pius, the base of which survives, a rectangular marble pedestal with a large relief in classicizing style of the deification (*apotheosis*) of Antoninus and Faustina, flanked on either side by two almost identical military parade scenes (one in honour of Marcus, one of Lucius?) executed in extreme 'vertical perspective' with background figures raised above foreground ones.

A legacy of the British campaigns (160s) was the permanent re-establishment of Hadrian's Wall as the frontier and its completion in stone. Lucius' eastern war gained some territory from the Parthians, including the Euphrates river city of Dura Europus, which after 165 began to receive Roman garrison buildings, baths and a Mithras temple. Within the empire generally, however, warfare seemingly left little mark, and the activity and art forms of Pius' age carried on unabated. Trier in Germany gained the St Barbara baths, and in Danube lands, Costanza gained a building with fine marble work (161–2), Stara Zagora thermal baths (161–9), and Serdica walls (170–180). In North Africa, Timgad received a Capitulum and two arches (166–9, 171), Lambaesis a temple of Aesculapius (162), Thuburbo

Maius a Capitolium (168), Ain Zana and Markouna arches (161–9), and Tripoli an important four-way arch (162) with an octagonal stone cupola and reliefs of Apollo and Minerva; at Sabratha a marble temple of Marcus was raised (166–9) and work began *c.* 175 on a great theatre. In the East, Jerash got its north theatre (*c.* 161–6) and west baths among other items, nearby Mismiyeh a ‘Praetorium’ (161–9), and Palmyra its Bel temple gateway. In Asia Minor, Smyrna was rebuilt after an earthquake of 178; Miletus received the baths of Faustina (with some use of concrete), Sinope walls (176), Isaura another arch, Aspendos a handsome theatre almost entirely surviving (by the architect Zeno), Pergamum a temple of Diva Faustina Mater, and both Pergamum and Ephesus a ‘Serapeum’. In Greece, Philippi acquired a new forum with twin temples (161–79), Argos a fountain building (Nymphaeum), and Eleusis probably a Doric gateway with a medallion bust of Marcus as a pediment relief; Herodes Atticus remained active as a patron, contributing one Odeum to Corinth (*c.* 170), and another to Athens, a handsome theatre-like example for 5,000 persons, still standing below the Acropolis. It was at this time, too, that a surviving guide book to the antiquities of Greece was written by the scholar Pausanias.⁸

Around Rome, tombs become ever more varied and decorated in period: these include the fine, extant brick tomb of Annia Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus. Sarcophagi multiply and now often have a battle as the main theme, a sign of the times; one outstanding example, perhaps that of an Antonine general, has the figures crowded together in a ‘vertical perspective’ design, creating a tapestry-like effect.

In his latter years, Marcus Aurelius began the commemoration at Rome of his northern campaigns. His equestrian statue may have been erected in 176/7. He built a triumphal arch in 176, now gone, but to which may be assigned three surviving reliefs in the Conservatori Palace in Rome, tall, rectangular ‘framed’ marble panels of classicizing style showing his triumphant entry into Rome, and a sacrifice. From a second arch, whether his or his son Commodus’, come eight reasonably similar panels later used to decorate the Arch of Constantine, with scenes of campaigning, sacrifice, address and distribution (the heads were recently recut as Trajan). And he commissioned a tall, marble column, a revised version of Trajan’s seemingly completed by Commodus, which still stands (though reworked in modern times) and tells the story as two campaigns up to 175, when rebellion brought Marcus back and Commodus (who does not appear) out as commander. As with Trajan’s, the narrative, told continuously, spirals upwards, with figures in crowded ‘vertical perspective’ and a personified Victory marking the half-way point; but the fewer spirals (twenty instead of twenty-three), deeper relief, gloomier atmosphere and frequent frontality

⁸ *Guide to Greece.*

of the emperor indicate significant rethinking, and produce a story that is visually even more striking.

Marcus' natural son Commodus duly succeeded (180–92). His portrait, which had undergone perhaps three transformations under Marcus, went through possibly two more, with ever-lengthening hair and beard. Architecture and art continued to flower against a background of continuing prosperity. At Rome, Commodus seemingly finished Marcus' Column, and completed (or built) a second triumphal arch. Around the capital, cremation burials continue to diminish; brick tombs proliferate, decorated with painting, stucco and mosaic, and housing the great sarcophagi. In North Africa, Cuicul received baths of Roman type (183), Cyrene a temple, perhaps of Commodus, Tripoli (Oea) a temple of the Spirit of the Colony with pediment relief, and Sabratha a new quarter with grid-plan layout and a temple of Hercules, the Roman equivalent of the local Punic Melqarth (186); at Timgad, the 'Arch of Trajan' may in fact be of this period. In the East, Jerash acquired a sumptuously decorated fountain (191) and nearby Es-Sanamén a temple (191); Shakka may now have got its basilica. In Britain, marble sculptures of Mithras and Serapis could now have been imported for the temple of Mithras in London. And interesting wall-paintings survive: competent figured scenes at Ostia, a red corridor ceiling at Verulamium in Britain with a barley-stalk design, three water-nymphs against a white ground in a deep room at the Lullingstone Villa, Kent, in England, personified Victories holding up portrait medallions and scenes of Achilles and Ganymede in the 'Tomb of the Three Brothers' at Palmyra in Syria (c. 160–91), and the scene of the sacrifice of the priest Konon at Dura Europus (c. 180) in an oriental, linear 'Parthian' style.

Some insight into Commodus' end may be provided by a curious discovery in an underground room at Rome from late in his reign (c. 191–2?): a marble sculptural group of two Tritons flanking a magnificent bust of the emperor in his final (fifth?) image, whose haughty features are framed by the lion-skin of Hercules – eloquent testimony to the megalomania which inspired his assassination.

As the Antonine age drew to a close, the Roman world was visually a splendid place. Monuments of Egyptian and Greek civilizations still stood. The Roman empire had come into being and was interacting fruitfully with its own republican past and its regional cultures, including those of the Classical and Hellenistic Greek worlds which were still a potent source of inspiration, particularly in architectural decoration and art, and notably for Hadrian. But powerful new ideas were constantly being generated, in the remouldings of earlier traditions, in the portrayal of the emperors and their achievements, and in the breathtakingly imaginative uses made by the Flavians, Trajan and Hadrian of the Roman concrete tradition. Both emperors and citizens, high and low, took pride in making beautiful what

was around them; even the poorest could feel involved in those monuments dedicated in the name of the people, and were free to wander through the great public buildings of the empire. So the rich artistic harvest of the Flavian to the Antonine ages was not just an imperial, but a corporate achievement, one which offered a worthy inheritance to following generations.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.D.	Rome and Italy	Foreign Affairs	Literature, Philosophy and Art
	69 Accession of Vespasian (acclamation <i>July</i> 1, <i>lex de imperio</i> late <i>Dec.</i>)		
70	70 Vespasian at Alexandria; reaches Rome (<i>Sept.—Oct.</i>)	70 Titus captures Jerusalem (<i>Sept.</i> 8); defeat of the Batavian revolt	70 Laying of foundation stone of the Capitoline Temple (<i>June</i> 21)
	71 Titus returns from the East (<i>Spring</i>), receives proconsular imperium and shares tribunician power with Vespasian. Jewish Triumph (<i>June</i>)		
	71–5 Banishment from Rome of <i>astrologi</i> and <i>philosophi</i>		
		72/3 Annexation of Commagene. Armenia Minor added to Cappadocia	
		c. 72–7 Annexation of Emesa	
	73–4 Censorship of Vespasian and Titus; adlections to the Senate	73 or 74 Fall of Masada (<i>May</i>)	
	75 Visit of M. Julius Agrippa II and Berenice to Rome; banishment of Helvidius Priscus	74 Grant of Latin right to Spain	
		c. 77–84 Agricola governor of Britain	c. 75–79 Josephus, <i>Bell. Jud.</i> , Pliny. <i>Nat. Hist.</i>
	78 or 79 Conspiracy of A. Caecina Alienus and Epruius Marcellus		
	79 Death of Vespasian (<i>June</i> 24). Accession of Titus. Eruption of Vesuvius (<i>Aug.</i> 24). Fire at Rome		

A.D.	Rome and Italy	Foreign Affairs	Literature, Philosophy and Art
80			80 Dedication of Colosseum; destruction of Capitoline Temple by fire 80 Dedication of arch of Titus
	81 Death of Titus (<i>Sept.</i> 13). Accession of Domitian		82 Dedication of restored Capitoline Temple (<i>Dec.</i> 7)
	83 Domitian's triumph over the Chatti		
83/4	Increase of legionary pay		
85	85 Domitian <i>censor perpetuus</i>	85 or 86 Revolt of Nasamones in Africa 85–88 Dacian war	
	86 Inauguration of the Capitoline Games		
	88 Ludi Saeculares held		
	89 Edict against <i>astrologi</i> and <i>philosophi</i>	89 Rebellion of L. Antonius Saturninus	
90		91 <i>Lex Irnitana</i>	90s Quintilian, <i>Institutio Oratoria</i>
	93 Pliny praetor. Trials of Baebius Massa, Herennius Senecio, Helvidius Priscus, Arulenus Rusticus	c. 93–120 Vindolanda tablets written	92 Palaces on the Palatine completed c. 93–4 Josephus, <i>Ant. Jud.</i>
95	95 Philosophers expelled from Italy. Flavius Clemens and Acilius Glabrio put to death		
	96 Assassination of Domitian (<i>Sept.</i> 18). Accession of Nerva; adoption of Trajan		96 Dedication of Forum Nervae
	98 Death of Nerva (<i>Jan.</i> 27). Accession of Trajan		98 Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i> and <i>Germania</i>
	99 Trajan enters Rome (<i>autumn</i>)		
100	100 <i>Alimenta</i> schemes instituted	100 Foundation of Thamugadi 101–2 First Dacian War	100 Pliny the Younger, <i>Panegyricus</i>
		c. 104 Withdrawal from Scotland	103 Reconstruction of Circus Maximus
105		105–6 Second Dacian War, creation of province of Dacia	

	106–11	Creation of province of Arabia		107/8	Dedication to Mars Ultor of monument at Adamklissi	
110	c. 109–12	Pliny the Younger governor of Bithynia-Pontus		c. 108	Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i>	
	113	Trajan leaves Rome for war against Parthia (<i>Oct.</i> 27)		112	Dedication of the Forum Traiani (<i>Jan.</i>)	
	114	Annexation of Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria		113	Trajan's column	
115	115	Capture of Ctesiphon		c. 113	New harbour at Ostia completed	
	115–17	Jewish diaspora revolt				
	116	Revolt against Rome in the East				
	117	Death of Trajan (by <i>Aug.</i> 9); accession of Hadrian (<i>Aug.</i> 11)				
	118	Execution of four consuls. Hadrian reaches Rome (<i>July</i> 9)	118	Abandonment of Trajan's eastern conquests except Armenia	c. 118–128	Reconstruction of Pantheon
120		Antoninus consul		c. 120	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>	
	121–5	Hadrian's first provincial tour				
	122	Hadrian visits Britain, construction of wall began. Second Moorish revolt				
	124	Hadrian's first visit to Athens and Eleusis		c. 126	Death of Plutarch	
125	c. 127	Appointment of four consular legates for Italy				
	128–32	Hadrian's second provincial tour		129	Birth of Galen	
130	130	Aelia Capitolina founded on site of Jerusalem. Antinoupolis founded by Hadrian (<i>Oct.</i> 30)		131/2	Completion of temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens	
135	131/2	Inauguration of the Panhellenion				
	131–5	Bar Kochba revolt				

A.D.	Rome and Italy	Foreign Affairs	Literature, Philosophy and Art
		131–7 Arrian governor of Cappadocia	135 Temple of Venus and Rome dedicated
	136 Adoption of L. Commodus; execution of Julius Servianus		
	138 Antoninus adopted As co-regent (<i>Feb.</i> 25). Death of Hadrian (<i>July</i> 10)		
140	140 First consulship of Marcus Aurelius	139–142 Construction of Antonine wall in Britain	139 Dedication of Mausoleum of Hadrian
			143 Herodes Atticus and Fronto consuls
145			<i>c.</i> 143–4 Aelius Aristides, <i>Eis Rhomen</i>
150		152 Peace re-established in Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana	145 Temple dedicated to Divus Hadrianus
		157–8 Operations against Dacian tribes	
155		159 Dacia divided into three parts	
160	160 Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus appointed consuls designate	160 Risings in Africa suppressed	
	161 Death of Antoninus Pius (<i>March</i> 7). Accession of Marcus Aurelius; L. Verus given the title Augustus		
165		162–166 Parthian war of L. Verus	<i>c.</i> 162–200 Galen at Rome
	<i>c.</i> 166 Appointment of senatorial <i>iuridici</i> for Italy	166–170s Plague spreads from Seleucia to Asia Minor, Egypt, Italy and the Rhine	
		166 Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus celebrate a joint triumph (<i>Oct.</i> 12)	
		167–175 Marcommanic wars	
	169 Death of L. Verus (<i>Jan.</i>)		
170		172 Revolt of Boukoloi in Egypt	
		175 Revolt of Avidius Cassius, governor of Syria (<i>April</i>). Cassius killed (<i>July</i>)	174 Marcus Aurelius begins his <i>Meditations</i> ; trial of Herodes Atticus
175			176 Arches of Marcus Aurelius
			176 (<i>after</i>) Column of Marcus Aurelius

	177	Consulship of Commodus, who is named Augustus	177	<i>Tabula Banasitana</i> . Martyrdoms at Lyons
180	180	Accession of Commodus	178–180	Germanic wars on Danube
	182	Conspiracy of Lucilla	180	Death of Marcus Aurelius (<i>Mar.</i> 17)
185	185	Fall of Perennis		
			186	Pertinax suppresses mutiny of the armies in Britain
			188	Roman victory against revolt in Germany
190	190	Fall of Cleander	190	Pertinax crushes disorder in Africa
	192	Murder of Commodus (<i>Dec.</i> 31)		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

This list does not include the standard abbreviations used for literary works, legal sources, inscriptions, papyri etc.

<i>AAAS</i>	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes</i>
<i>AAntHung</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>AArchHung</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
<i>AClass</i>	<i>Acta Classica. Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa</i>
<i>Acta RCRF</i>	<i>Acta Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum</i>
<i>ADAJ</i>	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique</i>
<i>AEA</i>	<i>Archivo Español de Arqueología</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AIIN</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica</i>
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli: Archaeologia e Storia Antica</i>
<i>AJ</i>	<i>F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire. Princeton, 1926</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJAH</i>	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>AJPb</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AMN</i>	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i>
<i>AncSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>AncW</i>	<i>Ancient World</i>
<i>Annales (ESC)</i>	<i>Annales (Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations)</i>
<i>AnnNYAcSc</i>	<i>Annual of the New York Academy of Sciences</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>H. Temporini, W. Haase (eds.), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Berlin and New York, 1972—</i>
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes</i>
<i>AntAfr</i>	<i>Antiquités africaines</i>
<i>AntClass</i>	<i>Antiquité classique</i>
<i>Antiq</i>	<i>Antiquity</i>
<i>AntJ</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Africa romana</i>

<i>ArchAnz</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>ArchCant</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cantiana</i>
<i>ArchClass</i>	<i>Archaeologia Classica</i>
<i>ArchDelt</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</i>
<i>ArchEpb</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς</i>
<i>ArchErt</i>	<i>Archaeologiai Ertesitő</i>
<i>ArchJ</i>	<i>Archaeologiai Journal</i>
<i>Arh Vestnik</i>	<i>Arheološki Vestnik</i>
<i>ARID</i>	<i>Analecta Romana Instituti Danici</i>
<i>ASAA</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>AW</i>	<i>Antike Welt</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, British Series
BAR s	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BCAR</i>	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BCTH</i>	<i>Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques</i>
<i>BdArch</i>	<i>Bolletino di Archeologia</i>
<i>BEFAR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
<i>BLAL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London</i>
<i>BIBR</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London</i>
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BMB</i>	<i>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</i>
<i>BMCRE I</i>	<i>H. Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, I: Augustus to Vitellius. London, 1923</i>
<i>BMCRE II</i>	<i>H. Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, II: Vespasian to Domitian. London, 1930</i>
<i>BRGK</i>	<i>Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>BSAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l'Ouest</i>
<i>BSNAF</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France</i>
<i>BullHistMed</i>	<i>Bulletin of the History of Medicine</i>
<i>ByzSt</i>	<i>Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CBA ResRep</i>	<i>Council for British Archaeology, Research Reports</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>C&M</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
<i>CPb</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>

<i>CT</i>	<i>Les Cahiers de Tunisie</i>
<i>CV</i>	<i>Classical Views</i> [= <i>EMC</i>]
<i>DaM</i>	<i>Damascener Mitteilungen</i>
<i>DarSag</i>	C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, <i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments</i> . Paris, 1875–1917
<i>DE</i>	E. de Ruggiero, <i>Dizionario epigraphico di antichità romana</i> . Rome, 1895–1988
<i>DHA</i>	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>
<i>DUJ</i>	<i>Durham University Journal</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
<i>EconHistRev</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EE</i>	<i>Ephemera Epigraphica. Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum, edita iussu Instituti Archaeologici Romani</i> . Berlin, 1872–9; 1903–13
<i>EJ</i> ²	V. Ehrenberg, A. H. M. Jones, <i>Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius</i> . 2nd edn. Oxford, 1975
<i>EMC</i>	<i>Echos du monde classique</i> [= <i>CV</i>]
<i>EPRO</i>	<i>Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain</i>
<i>EpStud</i>	<i>Epigraphische Studien</i>
<i>ESAR</i>	T. Frank <i>et al.</i> , <i>An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome</i> . 5 vols. Baltimore, 1933–40
<i>EtudClass</i>	<i>Etudes classiques</i>
<i>FIRA</i>	S. Riccobono <i>et al.</i> , <i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani</i>
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HBES</i>	<i>Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien</i>
<i>HistTechnol</i>	<i>History of Technology</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
<i>IG</i>	A. Kirchhoff <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1873–
<i>IGLS</i>	L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> . Beirut, Paris, 1929–82
<i>IJ</i>	<i>Irish Jurist</i>
<i>IJNA</i>	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology</i>
<i>IndustrArchRev</i>	<i>Industrial Archaeology Review</i>
<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JbAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHM</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences</i>
<i>JJP</i>	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JLPeasStud</i>	<i>Journal of Peasant Studies</i>
<i>JNG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i>

<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i> . Vienna 1898–
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRGZM</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> , Mainz
<i>JRoy.Soc.Arts</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Arts</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JS</i>	<i>Journal des savants</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LA</i>	<i>Libya Antiqua</i>
<i>LS</i>	<i>Libyan Studies</i>
<i>LTUR</i>	E. M. Steinby (ed.), <i>Lexicon Topographicum urbis Romae</i> . Rome, 1993–
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MAL</i>	<i>Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali e storiche</i>
<i>MBAH</i>	<i>Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte</i>
<i>MDAI(D)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Station Damaskus)</i>
<i>MDAI(R)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)</i>
<i>MedhistJourn</i>	<i>Medizinhistorisches Journal</i>
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>MSAF</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France</i>
<i>MUSJ</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Université St Joseph</i>
<i>MW</i>	M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead, <i>Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors</i> . Cambridge, 1961
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NSc</i>	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>OpInstRomFin</i>	<i>Opuscula Instituti Romani Finlandiae</i>
<i>ORom</i>	<i>Opuscula Romana: Acta Instituti Regni Sueciae</i>
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>PIR</i>	E. Klebs <i>et al.</i> , <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> . Berlin 1897–8; E. Groag <i>et al.</i> , 2nd edn, 1933–
<i>PP</i>	<i>La parola del passato</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>QAL</i>	<i>Quaderni di Archeologia della Libya</i>
<i>QTic</i>	<i>Quaderni Ticinesi</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RAAN</i>	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Revue archéologique du centre de la France consacrée aux antiquités nationales de Auvergne etc.</i>
<i>RAE</i>	<i>Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est</i>
<i>RAN</i>	<i>Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise</i>
<i>RAO</i>	<i>Revue archéologique de l'Ouest</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>

<i>RE</i>	A. F. von Pauly <i>et al.</i> , <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 83 vols. Stuttgart, 1894–1980
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>RecSocBodin</i>	<i>Recueil de la Société Bodin</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des études latines</i>
<i>RendLinc</i>	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica</i>
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue historique</i>
<i>RHD</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire du droit</i> (= <i>Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis</i>)
<i>RHDFE</i>	<i>Revue historique de droit français et étranger</i>
<i>RbM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RHPbR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RIB I</i>	R. G. Collingwood, R. P. Wright, <i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain I, Inscriptions on stone</i> . Oxford, 1965
<i>RIB II</i>	R. G. Collingwood, R. P. Wright, S. S. Frere, R. S. O. Tomlin (eds.) <i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain II, Instrumentum domesticum fascicules 1–8</i> . Gloucester, 1990–5
<i>RIC I–III</i>	H. Mattingley and E. A. Sydenham, <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage 1–III</i> . London, 1923–30
<i>RIC 1²</i>	C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage 1</i> . 2nd edn. London, 1984
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i>
<i>RivStudi Lig</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi Liguri</i>
<i>ROMM</i>	<i>Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée</i>
<i>RPAA</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de Philologie</i>
<i>RSÄ</i>	<i>Rivista storica dell'antichità</i>
<i>RSC</i>	<i>Rivista di studi classici</i>
<i>RSI</i>	<i>Rivista storica italiana</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>SCO</i>	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i>
<i>SDHI</i>	<i>Studia et documenta historiae et iuris</i>
<i>SIFC</i>	<i>Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica</i>
Smallwood, GCN	E. M. Smallwood, <i>Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero</i> . Cambridge, 1967
Smallwood, NTH	E. M. Smallwood, <i>Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian</i> . Cambridge, 1966
<i>SNR</i>	<i>Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TAPhS</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>TG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Trierer Zeitschrift</i>
<i>World Arch</i>	<i>World Archaeology</i>
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Archäologie</i>

ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZRG	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte</i>

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